2: Rockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

175 them a great variety of Tamilian, Mysorean, Malabari and other
177 dependents, including a few Eurasians. With this contact people of
southern India began to learn about the strange men, scarcely
Hindus, who already inhabited these hills. Immigrants began to
find labouring jobs on the tea and coffee plantations from the
1840s; and as they took up this new occupation they brought the
indigenous Nilgiri tribes into closer contact with the traditions and
434 practices of South Indian Hinduism. Today the plantations are the
177 main source of the district income, and they attract an ever-
increasing number of migrant labourers from elsewhere in South
India. In 1971 there were some 370,000 immigrants living in the
Nilgiris, three-quarters of the total population (see Appendix 1).

177 These immigrants belong to a wide range of castes. Normally,
while maintaining occupational roles in Nilgiri society, they also
attempt to continue the behaviour that distinguishes their own
castes and try to keep up social ties with their places of origin.
From the point of view of the indigenous communities, however,
these caste distinctions are of little importance: immigrants are
classified under seven rough headings—Tamilians, Kanarese,
Andhras, Malayalis, Christians, Moslems and Europeans (lit.
'Kings'). The indigenous people are aware that there are caste
divisions within these categories but are unconcerned with them;
and as the immigrants are classed according to mother-tongue or
religious creed, they are not even organized by the local residents
into a simple caste hierarchy. It is true that Andhras, for example,
are thought to have an inferior status; but this is because they are
nearly always day-labourers for the Nilgiri farmers. Their low
status, like that of other labourers, is determined by their poverty
and poor education rather than by their caste affiliations. There *is*
a status hierarchy in the Nilgiris, but it has economic and
educational determinants that should not be confused with the
ritual determinants of caste ranking elsewhere in India.

177 Except among Todas, Kotas and Europeans, the rate of
178 population growth in this district has been remarkably high: for
the decade 1961–1971 it was a staggering 38%, attributable to
continuing immigration as well as to the increase of births over
deaths. This greatly surpasses the State average of 22.3% and the
all-India figure of 24.8%. This demographic factor, together with a
high rate of literacy and the fact that plantations make this one of
the wealthier districts in southern India, indicates that the Nilgiris
are by no means typical of rural India. Indeed they tend towards

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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452 426 Central Bank; and the fourth runs the Marketing Society (*Thorner, 1964, 71–73*).

426 The law today limits the monthly interest on pawned items to a rate varying from ¾% to 1¼%, depending on the size of the loan. Even so, loans between Badagas now command an interest rate of 1% to 4% per month; while the professional money-lenders also secretly charge interest beyond what they are entitled to. On a loan of up to Rs. 200, for example, the Marwari lender can legally charge only 1¼% per month simple interest. He gives a receipt for that rate but at the same time insists on one year's interest in advance, and compounded, at 2% per month. One can hardly castigate the Marwari for his cupidity, or the Badaga for still patronizing him, however, when one learns the scale of bribes which some local government officials expect in return for granting loans from the cooperative bank.

452 (426) Yet the cooperative movement has gone a long way towards protecting Badagas from the high interest rates of private money-lenders; the Panchayat Unions and some multi-purpose societies even help farmers by supplying fertilizers, insecticides and modern equipment at cost prices. If these societies operate somewhat more effectively here than in other parts of India, the explanation lies in the fact that the Badaga societies are not in practice multi-caste institutions. They are run largely by and for the members of this one community, thus avoiding some of the factionalism and favouritism that commonly pervade such societies elsewhere.

MODERN SYSTEMS OF MARKETING

178 (366) With the spread of urbanization during the mid-nineteenth century, other markets besides that at Ootacamund began to cater to the needs of local villagers. Regular weekly markets opened at Coonoor, Kotagiri, Wellington, and later in several villages at some distance from any town.[21] The use of these markets by the Badagas is related to two other developments discussed earlier: (651) (654) first, the payment of land revenues and the restriction on use of (434) land caused by the Land Settlement and legislation to stop swidden farming in the forests; and secondly, the consequent movement of some Badaga labourers, including women and children, onto the tea and coffee plantations, where they earned a

178 (651) (654) (434) 178 [177] (442) (342) (432) (291)

cash wage (Grigg, 1880, 34, 471; see above, pp. 149, 152).

Greatly increased contact with markets and with Europeans provided the impetus towards full participation in the cash economy, yet this transition took a century to complete. For the vast majority the basic requirements of food, goods and services continued to be provided either by their own efforts or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. The itinerant Chetti trader continued to make monthly visits, as he still does. From 1825 onwards Badagas could visit local markets on the plateau for what they had previously bought in Gunḍulupe:te and Ka:ramuḍu, but they never sold very much in the markets and thus rarely had spare cash to spend. In the early days of cash-crop farming very few Badagas had enough knowledge or personal contacts to arrange the bulk sale of their produce in a distant market. They used to sell their crops instead to a broker in the Nilgiris, until it became known that a farmer who could find a market and negotiate a sale by himself would make bigger profits. An important motivation was the desire to acquire consumer goods that were now becoming available on a scale and in a variety never before known to the Badagas. Later in the nineteenth century there is evidence of increasing affluence which found expression in the shift from thatched to tiled rooves. '... in 1871 only 1,914 houses out of the 13,922 in the district were tiled; whereas now [1908] tiles are the rule ... in Badaga villages' (Francis, 1908, 130, compare Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 58; Grigg, 1880, 29, 225; 'Geofry', 1881, 132). For the farming family engaged in marketing their crops, cash was necessarily the only medium of exchange, and much of their foodstuffs had to be bought in the town bazaar. A great variety of items was also being purchased, the most obvious of which were new clothes: in the 1890s men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930s women started to wear coloured *sa:ris* (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 58, 90; Hockings, 1979a).

We may say that their commitment to the cash economy was complete by about 1930, in which year most Badagas permanently severed their traditional exchange relationship with the Kotas. This from the Badaga point of view was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas commanded, and without delays. While the Kotas had not been receiving cash, the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming

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(1800-1963)
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TABLE I

PRESENT DAY PASTORALISTS VERSUS IRULAS AND KURUMBAS

Categories omitted are not applicable

GROUP	OCCUPANCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CENTERS	OCCUPANCE TYPES	MAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
TODAS	-Permanent and seasonal hamlets -Dairy-temple centers	-Separate female, and male cremation centers	-Barrel-vaulted, front-gabled, and side-gabled dwellings -Conical and barrel-vaulted dairy-temples -Barrel-vaulted funeral-temples	-Sacred and secular buffalo rearing -Sale of clarified butter; some sale of fresh milk -Income from land rental -Limited farming: potato cultivation to tea planting -Limited gathering: roots, fruits, honey -Sale of cloths embroidered by women -Employment in occupations ranging from gardening to nursing -Income from tourists
BADAGA PASTORALISTS 1) Berpant	-One permanent dairy-temple center		-Inner dairy-temple functionally the same as side-gabled temples in house-rows (see Table IV)	-Sacred buffalo rearing -Production of clarified butter for rituals -Income from an annual festival; donations from worshipers
2) Mundis	-Seasonal livestock centers			-Buffalo and cattle rearing -Sale of clarified butter and milk
3) Badaga - Kasuva liaison	-Permanent livestock centers		-Front-gabled and side-gabled houses	-Buffalo and cattle breeding -Reserve grazing for upper Nilgiri livestock -Sale of clarified butter
KOTA PASTORALISTS	-Two seasonal livestock centers			-Buffalo rearing -Some sale of clarified butter
IRULAS	-Permanent hamlets	-Burial-memorial and worship centers	-Side-gabled houses -Hipped-roof memorial-temples	-Agriculture:- multilayer, single layer, and kitchen gardens - dry field crop cultivation -Livestock rearing: chickens, goats, sheep, some cattle -Limited gathering: yams, fruits, honey -Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl -Trading of homemade baskets, brooms, clarinets, winnowing-fans, gathered honey -Priests' fees -Income from work on plantations
KURUMBAS	-Hamlets, semi-nucleated communities, and dispersed houses	-Burial-cremation, burial-cremation-memorial, memorial, and worship centers		-Agriculture:- similar to the Irulas' -Livestock rearing: no cattle, but rearing of chickens, goats, sheep -Limited gathering: similar to the Irulas' -Limited hunting: similar to the Irulas' -Trading of homemade bone flutes, drying baskets, bamboo vessels, gathered honey -Fees for serving as musicians, healers, magicians -Income from work on plantations

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6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
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TABLE IV

PRESENT DAY BADAGAS AND KOTAS OF THE UPPER NILGIRIS VERSUS THOSE INHABITING THE NILGIRI WYNAAD

Categories omitted are not applicable.

GROUP	OCCUPANCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CENTERS	OCCUPANCE TYPES	MAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
BADAGAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	-Hamlets and villages	-Burial-cremation and worship centers	-Side-gabled houses and half-houses -Side-gabled temples, similar to the houses -Variants of temple with cupola	-Badaga master and Thariya servant relationship -Agriculture:- few multilayer, more single layer, and many kitchen gardens • orchards: nectarines, peaches, pears, plums • dry field commercial crop production: mainly potatoes • secondary dry field crop production: amaranths, barley, millets, wheat -Acacia and eucalyptus trees grown for bark tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood -Livestock rearing: chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, sheep -Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl -Wage earning: laborers on plantations, gardeners, factory workers, clerks, school teachers, engineers
KOTAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	-Six villages	-Cremation and worship centers	-Side-gabled houses, similar to the Badagas' -Front-gabled temples -Single temple with cupola	-Agriculture:- similar to the Badagas', but on a smaller scale -Grow some acacia and eucalyptus trees -Livestock rearing: similar to the Badagas' -Limited hunting: similar to the Badagas' -Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, potters -Limited wage earning
BADAGAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	-Hamlets and dispersed houses	-Burial-cremation and worship centers	-Hipped-roof houses -Pyramidal-roof temples	-Badaga master and Paniya servant relationship -Agriculture:- multilayer, single layer, and kitchen gardens • limited dry field crop production: millets -wet rice cultivation: subsistence base -Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle -Some men working on plantations
KOTAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	-One village	-Cremation and worship centers	-Front-gabled temple	-Agriculture:- a multilayer garden and small kitchen gardens -wet rice cultivation: subsistence base -Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle and goats -Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, potters

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

control on quality and could bring together sufficient produce to make a transaction with an exporter worthwhile. As more and more Badagas became interested in growing cash crops, middlemen appeared not only to buy up small quantities of tea, coffee and potato but also to sell seed, fertilizer and even some insurance.

After Independence profiteering by the middlemen was largely checked by the Nilgiri Cooperative Marketing Society set up with state government aid (Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249). Today there are nearly two hundred cooperative societies in the Nilgiris which pool the resources of members and also supply cheap fertilizer. Many such societies own local tea-processing factories and warehouses and are dominated by Badagas. After 1957 heavy loss through potato disease caused a widespread shift to tea or coffee growing,[22] and in the 1970s large acreages have been devoted to growing a sturdy new German variety of cabbage which finds markets nation-wide. Both tea and cabbage are quite successful crops. The availability of help from the Central Cooperative Bank made these unexpected switches in crops possible, for otherwise the initial capital outlay and the small size of most estates would have rendered the new venture unfeasible. Several cottage industries have also helped diversify the rural economy over the past thirty years; in particular beekeeping, liquor distilling, milk sales, knitting and embroidery have provided new, regular sources of income for many hundreds of Badaga families.

The early twentieth century saw the rise not only of wealthy Badaga land-owners but also of large-scale labour contractors. A few men profitted by getting the contracts for gangs to dig pits for planting tea-cuttings, pick coffee-beans, build roads or construct public buildings in the district.[23] Less wealthy Badagas set themselves up as small shopkeepers, tailors or money-lenders or found work in a wide variety of urban trades.[24] Whenever possible the more resourceful reinvested their profits in land (Ranga, 1934, 10), either tea and coffee estates or farm plots formerly belonging to Kotas (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240). The other reinvestment commonly made was in college education for their sons. With the economy fully monetized the stress was now on providing stability for the coming generations.

MODERN EMPLOYMENT

Prior to World War I virtually all Badagas were cultivators, and

243 may be removed through hand threshing by women with threshing-sticks.
251 Finger millet is dried in the sun until individual grains crack when crushed between one's teeth. It is stored away after winnowing and may be kept for years without spoiling. Underground storage pits for finger millet are no longer in general use. After barley and wheat heads are removed, they are dried in the sun. Women, working on courtyards, use threshing-sticks to thresh the grain. Following further sun-drying and winnowing, grain is ready for storage.

231 (175) Livestock. From the early 1800s Badagas have reared chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, and sheep (Keys 1812: 11; Birch 1838: 103-105). They never keep pigs, and chickens are not commonly reared.
262 Because of close ties between bulls and Lord Shiva, the Saivite Badagas are not beef eaters. Mutton is eaten more than any other meat, so
234 goats and sheep are kept as a meat supply. Milk processing into curds,
462 butter, buttermilk, and clarified butter had been carried out by men in the sacred hagotus within houses. Only one to a few families in
231 each community now own livestock, and sometimes a single male within a family will take care of the livestock. There are a few families which
231 depend almost entirely on sale of mutton, milk, and milk products for
434 a livelihood. Most, however, use livestock as a supplementary income source, or to obtain meat and milk for home consumption.

231 Religious ties between Badagas and their buffaloes or cattle,
771 as demonstrated at Bergani, are also present in communities. Monday,
796 Lord Shiva's day and a holiday, is a day sacred to the herd. In former times oxen were not worked and cows were not milked on this

B 243 B [462] [857] are planted together each time, and small clumps are spaced about nine inches to one foot apart. The amount of weeding performed by women and children before or after rice is transplanted depends upon the individuals concerned, but some weeding is usually done. As rice ripens, watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to drive away animals and birds. Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in headloads by men and women to threshing floors near the houses. Muzzled bulls are strung together and forced to walk abreast around posts rising from threshing floors. Grain on hay laid beneath the bulls' feet is thus slowly threshed out. Months later, other grain is threshed in like manner from straw piled on stilted platforms or straw heaped about poles rising near threshing floors. Sun-dried grain is stored within large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining threshed straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

B [221] B [482] B [251] [231]

B 463 • 434 439 Additional income. As far back as 1881 the Badagas were working on neighboring plantations, and a fair number of males are presently employed on plantations (Jennings 1881: 60). A few Badagas obtain income by selling milk to coffee and tea shops in nearby villages.

2. The Kotas

Ko 342 Most Kotas at Kalac, Cudalur, live in eight houses with brick